DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 224 146 EA 015 235

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TITLE Employment Reform or Pupil Control? Desegregation, Bilingualism and Hispanic Staffing in the California Public Schools.
INSTITUTION Stanford Univ., Calif. Inst. for Research on Educational Finance and Governance.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO IFG-PR-82-A9
PUB DATE Apr 82
GRANT OB-NIE-G-80-0111
NOTE 30p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, NY, March 19-23, 1982).
AVAILABLE FROM Publications, Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, School of Education, CERAS Building, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305 ($1.00).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Elementary Secondary Education; *Employment Patterns; *Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Hispanic Americans; *Minority Group Teachers; *Professional Personnel; Public Policy; Public Schools; School Districts; Social Action; Social Theories; Tables (Data)
IDENTIFIERS *California

ABSTRACT

Changes in California's public school Hispanic teacher employment practices and the contribution of bilingual categorical funding and regulations to these practices in the period 1967-1980 are described and interpreted. The paper attempts to clarify these related issues of fact and interpretation by first describing the relative levels and direction of change in the employment of Hispanic teachers; second, describing the specific contribution of bilingualism to increased employment of Hispanic teachers; and finally, interpreting these changes in light of the social reform and social control theses. The social reform thesis argues that existing political institutions are capable of enforcing structural social reform, whereas the social control perspective states that schools cannot be expected to become significantly more equal than the larger society. The findings show that the employment of Hispanic teachers has not kept pace with the increase in Hispanic pupils and that the employment patterns increased the presence of Hispanic educators in Hispanic segregated schools and communities but not in Anglo segregated schools. Policy implications are that only a concerted planning effort directed at the state level and supported with significant increases in state and federal funding will reverse this trend. (Author/MLF)

ED224146

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Project Report No. 82-A9

EMPLOYMENT REFORM OR PUPIL CONTROL?: DESEGREGATION, BILINGUALISM AND HISPANIC STAFFING IN THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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April 1982

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This paper was prepared for the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, March, 1982. The research for this report was supported by funds from the National Institute of Education (Grant No. OB-NIE-G-80-0111). The analyses and conclusions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of this organization.

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Abstract

This research paper describes and interprets changes in California's public school Hispanic teacher employment practices and the contribution of bilingual categorical funding and regulations to such increases in the period 1967-1980. The public sector, stimulated by an infusion of federal dollars, has been viewed as a particularly receptive employer of minority professionals. In the case of Hispanic professionals, it is widely presumed that public schools in general (and bilingual programs in particular) have also been a major source of employment since the late 1960s. The public schools in California have been chosen for this study because an extensive set of data exists on the composition of the school labor force and its changes over time. At issue is an understanding of the role of public schools as public sector institutions in providing employment for Hispanic professionals in terms of both its public policy and political-economic ramifications.

Acknowledgements

I wish to note a considerable intellectual debt to the staff at Stanford's Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, in particular Henry M. Levin, Jay G. Chambers, Dennis J. Encarnation and Richard Navarro.

Introduction

While the Great Society programs of the 1960s failed to break the vicious circle of urban poverty they did serve to increase minority professional employment. The public sector, stimulated by an infusion of federal dollars, has been viewed as a particularly receptive employer of minority professionals. In the case of Hispanic professionals, it is widely presumed that public schools in general (and bilingual programs in particular) have also been a major source of employment since the late 1960s.[1]

This research paper describes and interprets changes in California's public school Hispanic employment practices and the contribution of bilingual categorical funding and regulations to such increases in the period from 1967 to 1980.[2] At issue is understanding the role of public schools as a state sector institution in providing employment for Hispanic professionals in terms of both its public policy and political-economic ramifications.

The public schools in California have been chosen for this study because an extensive set of data exists on the composition of the school labor force and its changes over time. Moreover, California has the largest and fastest growing Hispanic population of any state in the nation. California also receives the largest percentage (26%) of total federal categorical aid directed at Hispanic students. California is an important test case for this investigtion because it has been an "educational laboratory," and, whether intentionally or unintentionally, California has been involved on a number of fronts in issues relevant to this study including state-wide financing, desegregation, bilingual education, and teacher layoffs. It is still unclear

what impact this combination of federal, state and local initiative has had on Hispanic employment. This paper offers some preliminary insights.

Social Reform or Social Control?

There are at least two competing interpretations of state employment reform--the social reform and the social control perspective--and both must be sifted through a screen of demographic, economic and institutional changes which accompany, and undoubtedly affect, Hispanic employment outcomes.[3] Each of these related topics will be treated in greater detail in the following pages.

The American common school system has a long history of ideological association with democracy and social reform. Indeed, it has been a major locus of reformist pressure for much of the past century (Cremin, 1964; Dewey, 1916; Hurn, 1978; and Wirth, 1981). More recently the nation's schools have been the focus of the Great Society federal policy reforms of the 1960s. Similarly, the teaching profession itself has long been viewed as an occupation conducive to the social mobility aspirations of young adults from working class and minority backgrounds (Swift, 1971; Lortie, 1976). Within this frame, supporters of increased employment of Hispanic teachers have argued that such hiring is desirable for equity, legitimacy, and role-modeling reasons (Arias, 1980; Noboa, 1980).

In light of this history, interpreting Hispanic employment patterns in California's public schools has at least two important public policy implications. First, if Hispanic educators experienced significant and permanent employment gains, it suggests that existing political institutions are capable of enforcing structural social reforms. Additionally, it supports the reformist thesis that the public sector is a critical arena within which

minorities, women and other under-represented groups can first establish employment reforms which can then be used as models for the wider society. Therefore, verifying the success of public school Hispanic employment reforms lends support to advocates of an expanded role for the State in ameliorating the inequities of our economic system.

Second, nested within this general question of the role of education as employer of Hispanic professionals is the related issue of the contributions of bilingualism to increased Hispanic professional employment. Evidence of dramatic increases in Hispanic employment attributable to bilingualism would be additional support for the reformist conception of public education. Indeed, Title VII Legislation and proponents of bilingual education have been frequently attacked precisely because bilingual education is perceived to be no more than a "jobs program" for Hispanics. Ironically, given the rapidly changing demographics of California and the shortage of bilingual certified teachers, non-Hispanic teachers may be benefiting as much as Hispanics from bilingual-related employment. As yet, however, there is little evidence to either support or reject this claim, a problem this study attempts to address.

In contrast to the reformist perspective just described, there is a less sanguine interpretation of Hispanic employment practices in the public schools. A "revisionist" school of critical scholarship has established a dissenting interpretation of public schooling and questions the viability of egalitarian reforms. Revisionist scholars have argued that schools are more accurately portrayed as institutions of social control and social reproduction (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Carnoy, 1973; Katz, 1971; Nasaw, 1980). Thus, to the extent that schools are situated in a wider society that is highly unequal, schools cannot be expected to become significantly more equal than

the larger society, either in their treatment of pupils or in their employment practices. This view certainly negates a leadership role for the public schools as a model employer of Hispanic professionals.

The social control perspective also has an explanation for apparent employment gains by Hispanics in the public schools. Revisionists would argue that Hispanics have been hired only to teach Hispanic children. Social control theorists believe "apparent employment gains" occurred only because Anglo teachers fled to jobs in the suburbs and Hispanics were hired to replace Anglo teachers for pupil control purposes and to appease angry Hispanic leaders. Revisionists argue that few Hispanic educators are hired in predominantely Anglo school districts. In short, their argument is that public schools have created what Stokely Carmichael (1967) originally called "welfare colonialism," a form of internal colonialist theory developed within the American Black nationalist movement.[4]

Similarly, Mario Barrera (1979) has developed an internal colonial model for the Chicano experience in the Southwest in terms of race and class. He argues that Chicanos as an internally colonized people have interests that transcend their class positions and simultaneously class interests which potentially conflict with their racial and cultural interests depending on their locations in the class structure. Quoting Barrera:

> Chicanos also constitute a colony with a certain coherence across class lines in the sense that they are liable to be in frequent contact with each other. Thus the bilingual Chicano teacher, a member of the professional-managerial class comes into contact with Chicano parents from the working class. Chicano social workers are liable to have a largely Chicano clientele, as are other Chicano professionals. (p. 216)

Thus, in the absence of highly politicized Hispanic interest groups, Hispanic educators can find themselves racially functional to the reproduction of a

segregated and class based public school system--a system which at the same time is ideologically committed to ameliorate race and class bias.

If, indeed, there has been an increase in the numbers of Hispanic professionals employed in public schools in the post-Civil Rights period, how would this increase be interpreted in light of the foregoing discussion? Frances Piven and Richard Cloward (1977) have argued in their provocative book, Poor People's Movements that independent action and disruptive tactics are the most effective strategy for the poor to improve their conditions, and this "politics of disorder" stimulated the dramatic increases in minority professional employment within the public sector.[5] Sharp disagreements exist, however, over the extent, permanence and political significance of these apparent changes in employment practices (Brown and Erie, 1981; Albritton, 1979).

The social reform and social control perspectives advance competing views of what institutional roles Hispanic teachers play within a larger system of education. The following sections attempt to clarify these related issues of fact and interpretation by first describing the relative levels and direction of change in the employment of Hispanic teachers; second, the specific contribution of bilingualism to increased employment of Hispanic teachers; and finally, interpreting these changes in light of the social reform and social control theses.

Public School Leadership in Hispanic Professional Employment

Did California public schools play a leadership role in expanding employment opportunities for Hispanic professionals? California's public schools were not always a significant employer of Hispanic professionals. In 1959, the California State Board of Education established the Commission on

Discrimination in Teacher Employment to address the problems minority teachers confronted when seeking a public school position. The establishment of the Commission followed the passage of State Education Codes which made it a violation of California state policy to refuse employment because of an applicant's race, color, religious creed, national origin, age or marital status. A 1959 survey by the Commission concluded that the most significant type of discrimination problem confronting teachers was that "members of certain racial and ethnic groups, particularly Negroes, still face limitations in finding jobs" (1961, p. 1). The Commission also found that the total number of Hispanic teachers in California public schools was even lower than that of Blacks.

California's public schools have dramatically altered their earlier employment practices. Table 1 shows that Hispanic teachers increased their presence in the classroom by over 100 percent in the 12 years from 1967 to 1979, while Anglo teachers lost about 11 percent in the same period. These changes took place at a time when the total school age population decreased by over 3 percent, while the number of racial and ethnic minorities, particularly Hispanics, grew to represent well over one-third of all California pupils. Yet during the same period, Hispanic teachers increased their presence in the classroom to only one of every 20 teachers. By 1985, Hispanic students are projected to represent nearly half of the California student population while the one to 20 ratio of Hispanic to Non-Hispanic techers is unlikely to improve

Table 1

Totals and Percentages for Teachers of

California Public Schools by Race Comparing 1967, 1977 & 1979

Classroom Teachers	Anglo	Black	Hispanic	Total
1967 Totals	163,523	8,137	4,189	179,852
(Percent)	(90.9)	(4.5)	(2.3)	(100)
1977 Totals	146,195	9,645	8,227	170,709
(Percent)	(85.6)	(5.6)	(4.8)	(100)
1979 Totals	139,813	10,367	9,205	166,440
(Percent)	(84.0)	(6.2)	(5.5)	(100)

This table was adapted from Foote, et. al., 1978, Table 15, page 35 and The California State Department of Education, 1979. (Figures in parentheses are percentages.)

substantially given current hiring practices. For example, of the 9,675 new teachers hired in 1980 in California's public schools, about 84 percent were Anglo and only 10 percent were Hispanic (California State Department of Statistics, 1979).

The ratio of Anglo teachers to Anglo pupils in 1967 was 1 to 20 and by 1979 that ratio was up to 1 to 17 (a 15% increase in Anglo representation).[6] For all Hispanic teachers the ratio to all Hispanic students had changed from 1 to 69 in 1967 to 1 to 61 (a 12% increase) by 1979 (California State Department of Education, 1979). These figures confirm that Hispanic teacher employment gains barely keep pace with the rapid increases in Hispanic pupils. Given the current trend toward fiscal retrenchment in California, the absolute number of Hispanic new hires in California has been very low and will continue to be so.

In summary, the employment of Hispanic teachers has more than doubled since 1967, yet that doubling occurred over an extremely small base. Further, the employment of Hispanic teachers has not kept pace with the increases in Hispanic pupils so that after more than a decade of employment reforms, Hispanic teachers are more underrepresented in relation to the racial composition of California public school pupils than they were in 1967.

What has been the contribution of California's public schools to the employment of Hispanic professionals in comparison with other public and private sector professional employment gains?

Table 2
Percent Hispanics Employed Comparing
Education, White Collar and Higher Level Civil Service Occupations
in California

	Public School Certified Employees	State Civil Service	White Collar (Higher Status)
Hispanic	11,804	11,252	547,668
Total	201,728	119,208	3,458,275
Hispanics as a Percent of Total	(5.9)	(9.4)	(15.8)

Sources: California Labor Market Issues: Hispanics, September, 1981; California Department of Education, Office of Inter-Group Relations, 1980.
Note: All data is from 1978 except the Public School Data which is from 1980.

Although Table 1 demonstrates that Hispanic employment did increase substantially in relative terms, Table 2 shows that education's contribution to Hispanic professional employment was smaller than either the State Civil Service or the White Collar Sector. Contrary to conventional wisdom, these results suggest that California public schools are not model employers of Hispanic professionals; however, they must be interpreted with caution since

the employment categories do overlap to some extent. The figures demonstrate, nonetheless, that while Hispanic employment gains in the public schools have been significant they are minor relative to the gains in comparable occupational categories in other sectors of the economy. Finally, if the 15.8% figure for higher status white collar Hispanic employment appears relatively impressive, one should note that while 55% of the total labor force was employed in higher status white collar occupations in California, only 29.7% of the total Hispanic employed labor force was working in these types of jobs. In short, Hispanics would have to nearly double their 1978 levels of employment in upper level white collar jobs to be employed at the same rate as non-Hispanics in California.

The Contribution of Bilingualism to Hispanic Employment

What has been the contribution of bilingual legislation and categorical funding to increasing the number of Hispanic teachers employed in the California public schools? As can be seen from Table 3, bilingual education has not been a major source of employment for Hispanics. The addition above and beyond that of Anglos that can be attributed to bilingual certification is only 1.0 percent. Only because Hispanics are so dramatically under-represented in the general teaching force do they comprise so large a percentage of bilingual certified teachers.

Table 3
Percentages of Bilingual Teachers by Race

	Bilingual Credential	General Credential	Total
Elementary			
Hispanic	2.9	3.1	.6
Black	0.1	4.7	4.8
Anglo	1.9	82.9	84.8
Other	0.4	4.1	5.5
Total	5.3	94.7	100
Secondary			
Hispanic	1.3	3.9	5.2
Black	0.1	3.5	3.6
Anglo	1.2	86.2	87.4
Other	0.3	3.5	3.8
Total	2.9	3.5	3.8

The Segregation of Hispanic Teachers

There are two basic perspectives from which one can attempt to explain an observed uneven racial and ethnic distribution of jobs within California's public schools. The first could be desribed as a "selective demand explanation" and the second, as a "supply-side explanation." These two terms are drawn from neoclassical labor market supply and demand modeling although they are used here as heuristic devices rather than for their strict correspondence to the prerequisites of supply and demand theory

(Fleisher and Kniesner, 1980). Whereas this study emphasizes selective demand, some attention must also be given to supply side explanations. Two relevant examples of the latter are that minorities are employed where they are because of occupational preferences or because there was a lack of qualified applicants to occupy certain job categories at the time jobs were available.

In the case of occupational preference, the central problem is to explain why such preferences might be reasonably characteristic of a particular race. Hispanics who have a natural language and cultural advantage may, for example, self-select bilingual teaching careers. Yet, if general credential Hispanic teachers are also systematically under-represented in jobs which serve Anglo students, and are over-represented in highly segregated schools, occupational preference becomes a less compelling explanation.

Using multiple logit analysis one can estimate the probability of being employed as a Hispanic teacher in schools with several levels of Hispanic pupil segregation. The results of such an equation are summarized in Table 4 and were estimated utilizing the California Basic Education Data System for 1980. Since, however, this equation is of reduced form it is not possible to formally separate the determinants of Hispanic labor force supply and demand--that is, whether Hispanic teachers occupationally prefer teaching in Hispanic segregated schools or whether they are only accepted for employment in segregated schools. It is, however, possible to estimate the weight given to a Hispanic teacher's ethnicity in predicting their likelihood of being employed in Anglo versus Hispanic pupil-segregated schools.

Table 4

Multiple Logit Modeling of Teacher
Employment in California by level of Pupil Segregation, 1980
Coefficients and "t-ratios"

Dependent Variable	Constant	Sex	Education	Experience	BilCred	Hisp
LOGe (P1/P5)	-.12 (-.76)	.43 (-5.68)	-.125 (-3.32)	.041 (8.67)	-1.31 (-9.91)	-1.12 (-11.94)
LOGe (P2/P5)	.003 (.02)	.33 (4.50)	-.07 (-1.85)	.03 (6.63)	-1.66 (-12.44)	-.95 (-10.98)
LOGe (P3/P5)	-.59 (-3.22)	.24 (3.02)	-.04 (-1.11)	.03 (6.21)	-.88 (-7.58)	-.59 (-6.52)
-LOGe (P4/P5)	-.96 -4.70	-.09 (-.94)	.01 (.26)	.02 (3.66)	-.48 (-4.15)	-.46 (-4.70)

The dependent (polychotomous variable is constructed on the following five levels of Hispanic pupil segregation: P1 = 0-5.99% Hispanic Pupils, P2 = 6-15.99% Hispanic Pupils, P3 = 16-25.99% Hispanic pupils, P4 = 26-34.99% Hispanic Pupils, and P5 = 35+% Hispanic Pupils.

The general form of the multiple logit model is:

LOGe [Pjt/Plt) = XtBj + Ej

j = 2,3....N;

and t = 1,2....T; where t is the observation index, T = the number of observations, Xt = the t'-th observation on a 1 x K vector of explanatory variables. Bj is a K x 1 vector of (unknown) parameters.

The results in Table 6 were estimated from a n = 8000, subsample of the 1980 California Basic Educational Data System (CBED's) data with oversampling of minorities where n = 2000 for Black, Hispanic, Anglo and others respectively, in functions of the following form:

LOGe[P1/P5) = B11 +B12 Sex + B13 Education + B14 Experience
+ B15 Bilingual Credential + B16 Hispanic

LOGe [P2/P5] = B21 +..... + B26 Hispanic

LOGe [P3/P5] = B31 +....., + B36 Hispanic

LOGe [P4/P5] = B41 +....., + B46 Hispanic

where Sex, Bilingual Credential, and Hispanic are dicotomous independent variables taking the values: 1 = 'male', 'yes', and 'Hispanic' and 0 = 'female', 'no', and 'non-Hispanic' respectively. An examination of the beta coefficients shows that as one moves from schools where there are 6 percent or fewer Hispanic students to the most segregated Hispanic schools (35+ percent) the strong negative weights associated with a bilingual credential and race, decrease sharply for both Hispanic teachers in general and bilingual certified teachers in particular. The consistently negative coefficients indicate that a Hispanic is always more likely to be employed, ceteris paribus, in a more segregated school than in a less segregated school at all levels. While this seems to be a logical policy outcome for Bilingual Certified teachers it is of

interest to estimate the probabilities of teaching in highly segregated Hispanic schools by race and sex. Table 5 provides this comparison and shows that Bilingual Certified non-Hispanics are nearly twice as likely to work in the most Anglo-segregated schools than are bilingual certified Hispanics. The converse is also true; Hispanic bilingual certified teachers are more likely to work in the most Hispanic segregated schools than their non-Hispanic cohorts. Similar patterns hold by Race for regularly credentialed teachers.

TABLE 5

Probabilities of being Employed in Each Level of School Segregation Given Average Education and Experience

	Level of Segregation				
	Anglo Segregated				Hispanic Segregated
	0-5.9 (n=1606)	6-15.9 (n=1874)	16-25.9 (n=1243)	26-34.9 (n=901)	35+ % (n=2376)
Hispanic					
Regular Credential					
Male	.16	.22	.17	.10	.35
Female	.12	.18	.16	.13	.40
Bilingual Credential					
Male	.08	.07	.13	.11	.61
Female	.05	.06	.11	.13	.65
Non-Hispanic					
Regular Credential					
Male	.27	.30	.17	.09	.18
Female	.22	.27	.16	.12	.23
Bilingual Credential					
Male	.17	.13	.16	.12	.42
Female	.12	.11	.14	.15	.48

The probabilities in Table 5 were calculated from Table 4 using the following formula:

$$Pit = eXtBi/1+ \sum_{j=2}^{n} extBj$$

Table 6, which is simply a reestimation of the model estimated in Table 4 for a subsample of Hispanic teachers (N=500), suggests that experience is more highly associated with employment in schools with fewer Hispanic pupils. This is not surprising since the mean years of experience for Hispanic teachers is one half that of Anglo teachers and Hispanic teachers are over-represented in the most segregated schools. The coefficient for the Bilingual Credential variable reproduces the pattern in Table 4. It is noteworthy that the coefficients in Table 6 are even more negatively associated with Anglo-Segregated schools than in Table 4, which suggests that non-Hispanics with bilingual credentials are less prone to accept jobs in highly Hispanic segregated schools.

Table 6

Multiple Logit Modeling of Hispanic Teacher Employment in California by Level of Hispanic Pupil Segregation, 1980 Coefficients and "t-ratios", 1980 (N=500, Hispanic subsample)

Dependent Variable	Constant	Sex	Education	Experience	Bil/Cred
LOGe (P1/P5)	-2.88 (-3.00)	1.02 (2.77)	.42 (.21)	.12 (4.77)	-1.96 (-4.15)
LOGe (P2/P5)	-.68 (-.91)	.52 (1.72)	-.27 (-1.67)	.87 (3.93)	-1.59 (-4.82)
LOGe (P3/P5)	-1.41 (-1.72)	.31 (.98)	-.74 (-.42	.74 (3.13)	-1.26 (-3.85)
LOGe (P4/P5)	-1.39 99-1.79)	.52 (-.16)	.15 (-.90)	.74 (3.28)	-.14 (-.48)

The dependent (polychotomous) variable is constructed on the same levels of segregation described in Table 4.

These results are consistent with other data at the national level which shows an increasing segregation of Hispanic educators and pupils from non-Hispanic educators and pupils (Arias, 1980; Halcon, 1981; Naboa, 1980).

Demographics play a complicated role in relationship to Hispanic teacher employment; declining enrollments have a strong negative impact on Hispanic employment because minorities lacking special credentials (e.g., Bilingual Certification) are more likely to be at the bottom of the seniority queue. At the same time, minorities may face better than average employment opportunities in predominately Hispanic pupil districts (which also have higher growth rates) because Anglos avoid employment in segregated districts and because minorities may be selected for social control and legitimacy purposes. For example, the Los Angeles Unified School District lost nearly 5,000 Anglo students last year. School Board member, Roberta Weintraub observed, "current enrollment trends suggest the city's school system will become nearly all Hispanic in the next decade" (San Francisco Examiner, November 24, 1981).

The result of these simultaneous effects seems to have a chilling effect on staff integration efforts. On the one hand, a major objective of social policy is to secure increased employment of teachers who can guarantee Hispanic children equal educational opportunity; yet, on the other hand, a racially balanced school staff is also a critical social policy goal. Existing incremental Hispanic employment reform strategies seem unable to resolve this conflict, particularly because the absolute number of Hispanic teachers employed in recent years is so low.

Despite the fact that the current demand estimates for Bilingual Certified teachers exceed supply by 100 percent, it seems that for Hispanic Bilingual Certified teachers the former policy objective has generally been met (Brown, 1981). Nevertheless, a contradictory outcome has been to increase the segregation of the public school labor force. This research is consistent with Naboa's (1980) summary of Aspira's research on Hispanic segregation which also concludes that bilingual education contributes to the contradictory effects of increased Hispanic employment and greater educational opportunity for Hispanic children on the one hand and on the other, increased Hispanic staff segregation.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to analyze the role of California public schools as employers of Hispanic professionals and to determine how and why that role changed in the post Civil Rights period. The theoretical motivation for this study has been to assess both past public school Hispanic employment practices and the possibilities for future minority employment. Two competing perspectives on Hispanic employment reforms were described. Consistent with the social control thesis an argument was presented that genuine or "structural" reforms did not in fact occur. To the extent that minorities were hired, it was primarily to teach Hispanic children and administer Hispanic schools. Nevertheless, while Barerra and Carmichaels' models are at least partially accurate descriptions, they still fail to explain changes in employment policy in terms of the ongoing legislative, judicial and social struggles which did result in increased employment of Hispanic people and the implications of these changes for further reforms.

The social reform perspective on the other hand would be consistent with the argument advanced by Piven and Cloward that it was the "politics of disruption" during the Civil Rights Era that forced a government response. This response was then translated into employment reforms in the public schools because schools were a ready pipeline into Hispanic communities by their very nature as segregated institutions. Yet, the reformist perspective also fails to address the persistence of racial segregation of pupils and staff and the limited nature of employment reforms that have occurred.

A third view, (and in this researcher's view the most plausible) is that advanced by Ira Katznelson (1980), who agrees with Piven and Cloward and with Levin and Carnoy (1981, p. 44) on the importance of public schools as an institutional terrain within which to advance the equity demands of minorities, but also believes that these reforms are being eroded due to fiscal crises and a lack of institutional protections sufficient to sustain such reforms.[7]

In summary, Hispanic teachers benefited from the post-1967 employment reforms, but the relative level of increased Hispanic public school employment is small compared to both State Civil Service and Higher Level White Collar increases in Hispanic employment. Further, these public school employment reforms took place in a manner calculated to increase the presence of Hispanic educators in Hispanic segregated schools and communities but not in Anglo segregated schools. This employment pattern persists because the combination of fiscal, demographic and political pressures which keep schools racially and ethnically segregated are stronger than the existing institutional remedies available to overcome segregation. Bilingual employment has marginally increased Hispanic participation in the California public school labor force,

and it has also, ironically, contributed to the segregation of Hispanic staff. As Arias (1980) and others have suggested, it will be crucial for social policymakers, including the courts, local school districts, labor unions, and legislators to develop a more comprehensive model which incorporates both desegregation goals and bilingual remedies. The current trend away from categorical programs and affirmative action, combined with declining Anglo enrollments and the decreased desirability of education as a career for minorities will further erode even those gains that have been made.

The policy implications are straightforward if somewhat pessimistic. Only a concerted planning effort directed at the state level and supported with significant increases in state and federal funding will reverse the direction of this trend. Given the current federal disinterest in pursuing equitable employment policies in education, the fiscal crisis facing the state of California in the post-Proposition Thirteen period, and the absence of a politically volatile Hispanic constituency, such reforms are, in the short run, unlikely.

These conclusions in no way detract from the fact that Hispanics have made important employment gains in the public schools. This study suggests, however, that these gains were limited so as to minimize the structural changes necessary to accomplish increased employment. Finally, these research findings are consistent with advocates of a stronger role for labor force planning at the state level. To the extent, however, that the state is a potential arena for structural employment reforms, it will become necessary to abrogate the "racial logic" of decentralized public school employment practices and explicitly consider equity and legitimacy goals.

Footnotes

1. The term "Hispanic" is used throughout this study as an umbrella term for people of Ibero-American origin which includes virtually every racial and ethnic grouping. Hispanics have been recognized as a cultural minority by the courts and the term Chicano is a narrower term which applies to Hispanics of Mexican national origin. In recent years, California's Hispanic population has come to include a significant number of Central Americans who, while subjected to similar cultural and color barriers to employment have an historical experience different from Chicanos.

2. There are a number of recent and excellent reviews of the literature on recent theories of the capitalist state. See in particular: Martin Carnoy, Theories of the State, Unpublished, Stanford University 1981; Bob Jessop, "Recent Theories of the Capitalist State," Cambridge Journal of Economics, 1, no. 4, December 1977, Gold, Lo and Wright, "Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State," in Monthly Review, 27, no. 5 and 6, October 1975. Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal," Politics and Society, vol. 10, no. 2, 1980.

3. According to Carnoy, et al., (1976) the number of Blacks employed by the government will have grown from 12% nationally in 1960 to a projected 15% in 1990. The comparable figures for Hispanics are 3.3% in 1960 to about 5% by 1990. Further, the growth of the government labor force at 10% per year from 1940-1970 has been approximately twice the rate of growth of the private economy labor force.

4. The notion of "internal colonialism" as a political term applied to state reforms directed at minorities was used by Stokely Carmichael was as "welfare colonialism" by hiring minority professionals to socially control segregated indigent minorities.

5. For an interesting debate on the merits of the "politics of disorder" as a strategy to empower minorities see the exchange between Piven and Cloward and Roach and Roach in Social Problems, December 1978.

6. A number of referants could be used to depict relative level Hispanic staff representation at the school site. The use of staff-to-pupil ratios is typically used by the California State Department of Education to assess appropriate levels of staff integration.

7. Selective demand or demand based on racial or other ascriptive characteristics has been the subject of much research and controversy in the economic literature under the rubric of "dual labor markets or "labor market segmentation." For those interested in the literature see: Cain, 1976; Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Reich, et al., 1973; and for those interested in the application of these concepts to the public sector, see: Bennett Harrison in Shepard, et al., 1972.

8. There is considerable debate sbout the significance and relationship of the "fiscal crisis" of the capitalist state to the general economy. See, for example: O'Connoer (1973); Gough (1975); Offe (1972); Fine and Harris (1976).

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